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who are sexually inactive from contracting *ndaka*.[1] At the same time the headman gives each household a piece of the fire which has been newly kindled in the traditional way by rubbing two sticks together.

The mystical danger inherent in the act of setting up a new village is well brought out in the propitiatory prayer and the abstinence from sexual intercourse. Once again it is the village headman who must make the offering to his ancestors; and it is the village headman who has intercourse with his wife so that the effluvium from his sexual activity may permeate the medicine in the hut and so protect the villagers from *ndaka*. Lastly, it is very important that the whole village cooks and is warmed by one fire. 'We are of one fire' expresses the common origin of two villages; though in fact every time a new village is founded a new fire should be kindled. To bring fire from the village of origin is to bring sorcery, since the Yao believe that sorcery can operate between persons closely linked by kinship only. To have one's own fire is to be autonomous from other groups.

The Burdens and Rewards of Headmanship

MacDonald had the perspicuity to see not only that the village headman was the representative of a corporate group and that he represented this group to outsiders, but also that he represented external authority to his villagers. The village headman who in his person stood for the unity of the group, performed certain ritual acts which emphasized this, such as praying to the village ancestors. In spite of the decline of the ritual his position is still regarded as exceptional. Much, however, depends on the rank of the village headman. There may not be much difference in ritual observances and mystical dangers between a headman who has in his charge a meagre three or four huts, and a commoner. In the larger and more important

[1] This is one of the most important mystical concepts of the Yao. I have described this condition and its implications more fully in *Marriage among the Machinga Yao of Southern Nyasaland* (R.-I. Paper), forthcoming. Briefly it is a disease characterized by oedema which affects those who are sexually inactive when they are suddenly brought into contact with a person, or an object which he has touched, after having intercourse. The people most affected are the young and the old, i.e. those who cannot have sexual intercourse. Those who are capable of intercourse are expected to have sexual intercourse with a stranger, and so fortify themselves against this dread disease.

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strike out with his adherents to found a new village. A sum of £6 or £7 is a considerable amount in everyday Yao life where the annual cash income of the average individual is not much more. The leader of a dissident group is prepared to forgo this wealth to get one foot on to the lowest rung of the political ladder—that is by becoming a village headman.

Obversely there is a great deal of sentiment attached to the idea of a united village. To the Yao way of thinking a village is broken by fighting or death, and these evils are linked by witchcraft beliefs. The association of death and the break-up of the village is brought out clearly by the funeral ablutions of villagers after the burial of one of their number. An important ingredient in the medicine with which the mourners wash themselves after the funeral, is *chola*. It is the earth from a particular type of terminary which is usually about 12 to 18 inches high, upright and almost cylindrical. The crust is very brittle and it is comparatively easy to chip off a piece. When this is done a mass of internal chambers and passages is revealed. The soldier ants, unlike those of other species that retreat into the darkness of their passages as soon as they are exposed, come into the open daylight and swarm in confusion over the fractured terminary. When I questioned my informant about *chola*, he kicked the crust off the top of one of the hills and said, 'See all the houses in the village of the ants? I have broken their village. So it is with death. It breaks the village.'

The Yao believe that death 'breaks the village' and that conflicts through sorcery lead to death. Therefore, conflicts are the real cause of village splits. Hence differences must be settled immediately if the village is to persist, because if they last too long one of the aggrieved parties is sure to start using sorcery against its opponents. Those who do move away, go to a distant place because they believe that sorcery operates only where there is social interaction. But the fear of sorcery on the other hand is just as strong a force in maintaining the physical unity of the village. It is while the migration is being planned that sorcery is most likely to be used. This is particularly so if the village break is taking the form of a lineage split. This happened, for example, in Lupanje village.

Kalumbo, the sister's son of Lupanje, wanted to leave the village and had gone to seek a suitable site. When he returned he found that

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his mother was ill and had gone with Lopunje's younger brother to the diviner to find out the cause of the illness. The diviner indicated that Lopunje thought that Kalumbo was not showing him the proper respect. Lopunje knew that his sisters had lost their value in the lineage since they had stopped bearing children, whereas Kalumbo's sisters were still reproducing. His malice had caused the woman's illness. When Kalumbo got home he asked his mother's brother to blow water out of his mouth [1] and help him to prepare some medicine for the sick woman. This Lopunje did and the woman recovered immediately.

Shortly afterwards Kalumbo remonstrated with his mother's brother for causing the illness of his sister, but Lopunje said that he had no control over it: the spirits had brought it on her. Kalumbo knew that he could do nothing and abandoned the idea of building his own village. He knew that there was bound to be more illness if he carried on with his plan.

Clearly the belief in the mystical powers of the ancestors or of sorcery is a force which prevents sections from breaking away from the village. A break follows only when opposition within the village has reached sufficient pitch to force one of the sections to take the risk of illness, rather than to continue living in the village. Sometimes the dissident group comes back because further deaths at their new village are convince them that their action was wrong.[2]

Effects of the Headman's Personality

Whether a village maintains its unity or not, depends very largely on the personality of the headman. This is why the officiating headmen and others at the installation ceremonies are so insistent that cases should be settled quickly. The main duty of a headman is to maintain harmonious relationships within his village and to see to the welfare of its members. All severe illnesses are immediately reported to him, and so are the results of all divinations. He usually sends his representative to divinations concerning kinsmen not related to him matrilineally. He is immediately notified of all deaths and he organises the funeral rites. Squabbles are brought to him for arbitration and even where squabbles are settled by kinsmen in the village, usually the headman is formally told of them. Frequently marriage diffi-

[1] An act which ensures malice. See Chap. VI, p. 130.
[2] See the case history in Chap. VI, p. 133.

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'sisters' and 'mothers' because alternate generations are merged in kinship terminology and in behaviour. A man's sister's daughter, for example, is called 'mother', and her daughter (his granddaughter) in turn becomes 'sister'. A woman calls her male matrilineal descendants 'children' (*mwanage*), or 'grandchildren' (*yitekulu*); her matrilineal male progenitors 'mother's brother' (*shemfumu*), or 'brother' (*shembwanga*).[1] By extension, therefore, another way of expressing common matrilineal descent is to say that two people are the children of one person, *dimakajamo*, even though that person may be their great-grandmother. A term which is almost synonymous with this is *mutimbo cimo*, 'in one womb', used as 'we were conceived in one womb', though once again the reference may be to a common grandmother. But the inclusiveness of these terms varies in different contexts. Any may refer to the matrilineage of maximal span within the village, or to a section of the matrilineage seen as a segmented organization of parts. It is only by reference to the particular occasion that the range of the term may be determined.

The Unity of the Matrilineage

A person identifies himself most closely with the members of his matrilineage from whom he expects most help and whom he, in turn, is expected to help. If he is called upon to pay a heavy fine it will be the members of his own matrilineage who will club together to find sufficient money. They, more than others, support him in his quarrels. They come to his aid when he is ill or injured, by consulting the diviner and trying to find the sorcerer who is causing his illness, and by finding medicines which will bring him back to good health. They send him money if he has left the country and needs it to return. The goods he brings home from the labour centres will be shared mainly among his matrilineal relatives. They will find the food to be used at his funeral and also see that his burial is properly carried out. He owes these duties in turn to them. His property will stay almost entirely within the matrilineage after his death.

Relationship, unless qualified, is looked upon as being entirely matrilineal. This is well illustrated by the beliefs about the

[1] The more commonly alternate form is *nimwani*. See p. 140.

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disease *ndaba*.[1] This disease, as we have seen, affects the sexually inactive when they are brought into contact with those who are sexually active. But the disease will only affect the members of the matrilineage of the errant person. For example, suppose a labour migrant is coming home from Southern Rhodesia and has, among other things, a few pounds of salt in his baggage for a gift to his relatives. Suppose also that while he is returning he has promiscuous intercourse. The salt becomes charged with sexual heat and if he gives it to any of his matrilineal relatives to cook with, they will contract this disease. He must therefore give the salt to members of another matrilineage, even if they live in the same village.

It is when the unity of the matrilineage is threatened, by either death or division, that its mystical value appears most clearly. When a member of the matrilineage dies the whole matrilineage is thrown into mourning and remains continent for three days. On the fourth day they perform a ritual purification and some members resume sexual relations, but the closest matrilineal relatives, such as the mother and uterine siblings, remain continent for the remainder of the mourning period, which is about 30 days.

It is tension within the lineage which is most closely attended by dire results. The most important reflex of this tension is accusations of sorcery. Good relationships among members of a matrilineage are adjured, mainly because friction opens the way to sorcerers. The Yao believe that sorcerers kill their matrilineal relatives so that they may share the flesh with other sorcerers. The sorcerer is fundamentally a wicked person and may kill any relative but is more likely to kill those whom he hates. Hence it is most important that relationships are kept amicable within a matrilineage for fear that sorcery ensues.

An interesting variation of the dangers of sorcery is the belief that sorcerers take the opportunity of squabbles within a matrilineage to kill one of the members. The rationale behind this is that the diviner's instruments are unable to detect the origin of the sorcery beyond the immediate cause. A diviner will indicate that the cause of death of, say, a child is sorcery, but that the witch is observed behind the quarrelling words of some relative. Consequently, danger to a matrilineage ensues when one of its

[1] See Chap. V, p. 112.

The evening of the first day is called Ijwom Ije mukwanti, or "the day of singing," as singing is kept up far into the night, but the exact significance of the word Mukwanti I have been unable to find out.

The second day is spoken of as Ijwom Ije mwoone, "the day of washing of hands," (Iwoone, "to wash the hands") when the rest are specially instructed as to the necessities of washing hands before preparing food, etc.; precept is followed by practice. The night is spent quietly, for this day's proceedings few people probably will have remained.

On the third day, however, they come back again from their villages in crowds to witness the performance of woone, Ijwom Ije woone, "the day of house moving" (Iwoone, "to change one's abode, carrying goods and chattels with one"). A representation is given of an onslaught on a village by enemies and all pretend to run away carrying their worldly goods with them. The part of the attackers is played by a number of women who, armed with guns and having donned hats and powder horns, rush in on the crowd from the bush and make prisoners of all they can catch. The men are put in miniature slave-sticks; women who are seen trying to run off with a child on the back, one round the neck and one on each hip, are driven as prisoners into a group. When all the noise and fun are over, the prisoners are released. This is often followed by a mock trial. Two women dressed up to impersonate chiefs of rival tribes, argue an old, imaginary quarrel, usually pretending that there has been a raid by one party on an ivory caravan going to the coast, with stealing of the ivory, while the other party in revenge has caught and killed some of the people belonging to the first mentioned. The thing may be kept up for an hour with much talking and great zest, all those taking part being women. Finally each party agrees to give compensation for the damage done; each presents the other with bundles of sugar cane, and friendship is reëstablished. That night, everyone again rests quietly.

The fourth day is known as Ijwom Ije Iwapenge (Iwapenge, "to go round about," referring to the dancing which goes on). Dancing takes place during the day and also the ceremony of *Lukwi* to be referred to later. One of the favorite songs sung this day runs as follows:

"*Kikandu'ji mbombi'gelga mwimbi mwene mbingwi'ga, mwai' mukwenga ngwijimwai.*"
"(Took this) a present don't give me two wait for me little girl, dear me! and we'll have some fun together!"

On the fifth day, return is made to the villages. The girl and attendant community lay their aforesaid three days together for the period of instruction is here in a special enclosure in the chief's village or in similar enclosures in a number of villages. The girl may go out into the village but must go about with bowed head and look no man in the face; they wear bark-cloth called Ibaiba and should they meet anyone, they must pull over their faces the kind of hood with which their garments are provided. They may not share food with outsiders. If they did so, the latter would sicken with a disease called *Akandala*.

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and under as well. I am inclined to believe that the words primarily refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives whose children bear the relationship of cousin to the parents. A strange point, however, crops up, namely, that the paternal aunts are called *anai* (*anai wakunyani*) and their husbands *atati* again.

An elder brother is *akulu*, his younger brother *mpamkwa*, a sister *mkamba*, *mkamba wamamili* and *mkamba mkulukunyani*, younger and elder sister.

Disease. Apart from old age, the native recognises in all illness and death the hand of an enemy or the result of transgression of some custom: some one has made medicine against him, or he or some one else has broken a custom founded on superstition which is visited on his head. These ideas are so deeply rooted in the native mind that it is with difficulty any appropriate treatment will be received. They rely, rather, on some medicine-man to cure them by medicine more powerful than that made against them. Even an ordinary accident or an attack of pneumonia is accounted for in this way.

The terms given in speaking of sicknesses are, of course, applied rather to symptoms, but in some cases where the symptom named is pathognomic of a disease, the word practically stands for the disease. The word used may imply the supposed cause or refer to a resemblance to some object, or again simply state the part affected; thus *chilombo* (the belly) meaning stomach ache, *mase* (eyes), conjunctivitis, etc.

The following words most of which are found in the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick's *Yao Language*, give some idea of the Yao native's conception of disease. The cause which the above authority gives is not always quite the same as I would venture to give. I shall not enter into the question of the diseases as such but only in so far as they bear on customs, etc.

The word *chilombo* signifies any disease or illness; *chilopa* and *chijimkolyindo* refer to epidemic diseases, the former refers to a disease of lowls and dogs characterised by vomiting and hence is occasionally used for bronchitis in man. *Chijimkolyindo* refers to a series of deaths from a cause unknown to the natives. The word *chisolo*, which Hetherwick gives as meaning a plague, rather means arrow poison, I think.

Chombolo: a liver disease of fowls.

Chipapo: a congenital deformity of any kind (*kupapasa* = to be born with).

Chikamulwa: a patch of white hair on the scalp of congenital origin.

Chinkamu (a cousin): the word used for a birth-mark or freckle; habitual liarsis is also indicated. Children sometimes mark either to see how many "cousins" mark him; anyone with none is made fun of.

Chinkokonkomali (*kunkomola* = a big lump): a bronchocele.

Chinsololo (*ku-sololo* = to split): a "splitting" headache, or more commonly, medicine by means of which the possessor can inflict pain or death.

Chinyl'chinyl'chi: a localised pain in the head.

Chinyumpanyumpa: giddiness.

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Chihali: deaf and dumb (Chin); the word is used in slang to mean impotence.
Chinindo: an old word meaning high fever.
Chihwahwahu: "*mahungwa wanda chihwahwahu*," the woman died in confinement without giving birth (suspected). The cause of deafness and constipation are unknown.
Kuhohlwa: constipation.
Mahwahungali: colic; *Mungungu*, constipation in the bowels, kuhungungali.
Mwahihili: " pins and needles."
Chihwa: sore and swollen gums, pyorrhoea; has been translated scurvy.
Chingwapahwahu: hardened skin, like a sore on the hand.
Kjanku: without eye-lashes, as result of disease.
Kwashigwal, Lwapwahlwa: Inflammations of vision (Stahlavitch).
Lwaso: watering of the eyes; nasal catarrh.
Mwahlahu: the secretion at the corners of the eyes in the morning, also the purulent secretion of conjunctivitis (Stahlavitch translates " watering of the eyes").
Pwevlo: nasal mucus.
Chinhwahlapalo: mucus from the nasal passages (Stahlavitch translates merely " nasal mucus").
Lukwamisho: cough.
Chinungungu: after-pains of labor.
Kpasikwa: hiccough.
Ky'swalaj'swa: nystagmus, from a verb meaning "to look from side to side anxiously."
Lwanga: any skin eruption supposed to be due to eating various wild fruits, chiefly monk.
Ku-hlimuka: to have a rash on the body of the nature of urticaria.
Kpahlahlo: the name of a condition in which the place where a man passes water becomes whitened; hence is taken to syphilis, bilharzia, etc.
Chihwahlawa (Hwahlawa = a mark): the white on the ground resembling a small track left by a man with *Kpahlahlo*.
Kkasi or Kkili: smallpox.
Kkungulo or Kwahlahlo: chicken pox; this term may also include other diseases with similar rash, i.e. modified smallpox and pemphigus.
Chihwalo (wahwalo = an elephant): elephantiasis.
Watawa: leprosy.
Mapwangwawa: yaws (chiwahali, given by Stahlavitch as "redness close," is a Chinyanja word for yaws).
Chihahlalo: (Swahili) syphilis.
Chisawawa: (Swahili) gonorrhoea.
Lukwihlahlo: whooping-cough.
Chihwalo: measles.

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Mbumo: anthrax.
Chisheshi (*ku-shesha* = to scrape out): diarrhoea, dysentery.
Chipanga (*ukupanga* = working): swelling at angles of jaws, mumps.
Limulilwa: nasal or bronchial catarrh.
Mwanka: insanity; *mwapamwapa*, delirium of fever (Unfavourable treatment or particular medicine).
Mbala: sexless.
Likhomwa: goitre (*likhala*: pumice stone).
Mahumula: hoarseness of hands and feet.
Chimpapayala: a pustule.
Chimwilukwa: a boil.
Chilanga (*ukulanga* = the spotted guinea-fowl): ring-worm of face.
Lemwa: any mark on the skin, e.g. birthmark, pigmented spot, chigerewa, wen.
Ibumwa: a wart.
Mkanda: a burn of the skin.
Lipulukwa: a bubbled sore (Unfavourable given "bull").
Lusopa: a rash after shaving.
Likuba: a blister.
Chipulukwa: a wheal after a blow or an insect bite.
Chilipa: sickness of a limb.
Chipanya: whitlow.
Lipula: an abscess; sores, pox.
Likulupa: an abscess; (*ku-wuka*: to swell).
Lusungu: a sore or ulcer.
Mkamapamapa: a chronic ulcer.
Lisisikila (*ku-sisika* = to cause to lie again): an ulcer which heals and then breaks out again.
Limbukulupa: secondary enlarged glands in groin or elsewhere from a rash on the foot, etc.
Nkasi: Any lowly movable lump under the skin, e.g. sebaceous cyst, pustule, ganglion, etc.
Chikasi (*ku-kasa* = to bite): rheumatism.
Upere: itch, scabies.
Nsuka wakumwa: thirsh.
Lusungu: diarrhoea in infants with green stools.
Lukwawa: passage of blood in urine; Urinary Bilharziasis.
Nyiche: ulcer or leprosus of mouth.
Ching'ang'a: rabies in dogs.
Lisichisi: round-worms of man.

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Mwapopolwi: round sores of dogs or found in the ground.
Wakwapwa mujimu: a leaves woman (lit. dog).
Chimpopolo: *shedding* in the male.
Chipopopolo or pojo: an important man or *Wambo jua ipopo*: a useless man!
Mpoli: impotent.
Mukwa (to-dwa = to not eat): a "not man"; a man over that he has been castrated.
Mwapo: a month after he has become fat.
Fwetwadwa (unfinished Chin.): the word is derived from fwada, to mistreate. He-Gwa say that when disturbed, the insect of this name which is a beautiful, *Hyphilopsis furcata*, makes water which falling on the skin of the passer-by causes ulceration. I have seen a variety of cases of extensive ulceration due to syphilis, etc., assigned to the effects of this insect; I have, however, shown that I does secrete a corroding fluid from pores at the sides of the body which dropped on to the skin will dissolve the superficial layers of the epidermis and should such ulceration become infected, ulceration may, of course, result.
Ulendwe: tremor, similar to the movements of one of the wops.
Mwajanje: tremor of old age, paralysis agitans.

The preceding short list of words will give some idea of the richness of the language in some directions and also its limitations. There now follows an account of diseases which are based on superstition, generally connected with the idea of uncleanness or the transgression of some rule of life. Whatever the symptoms, if there has been a transgression, the disease is labelled with the name of the disease supposed to follow the act. Similar diseases are to be remarked among the other tribes in the country; some of those relating to the Anyanja I have already mentioned,[1] and the following may be read as an amplification of the remarks previously made.

Chingwe (Kangwe Chin.) from kwega, to deliberate: At the birth of a child, if the contents of the bowel (meconium) are passed before the body is born (as often happens in breech presentations), the child is said to be "born with disease." One of the women attending the confinement will always go out and inform the husband of what has happened, saying, "*Ayuli 'chisoma*," (it is born well) or "*Ayuli ni chilondo*," (it is born with disease). This only refers to the passage of meconium and not to any antenatal disease.

When this significant event has happened, the husband may not occupy the bare sleeping mat on his wife and have intercourse with her until the child if its own accord crawls from the mother's sleeping mat to that of her husband on the other side of the hut; *Ku-pitiya mwanako ku mgono* (*Ku-pitiya mwana ku mgono*, Chin.) = "to go the child to the mat." Should the husband disregard this custom, he will sicken with *Chingwe*. The symptoms commonly ascribed to *Chingwe* are pain in the loins and in the hypogastrium.

[1] [illegible]

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This has led to the word being translated as Bright's disease (Hetherwick). No symptoms referable to the peritoneum are included under this disease. *Mwera* (Chin. *Kupanda*): kydrospic; said to be another sequela. A woman called by the environment of her infant after birth is not considered unclean and intercourse will have no ill result to the husband. Sometimes in the event of *Ayali wi chilanda*, recourse is had to the practice of intercourse between the woman and some other man. She is then rendered " clean " and the man who is not her husband will not sicken. Such a man is called *Litawo* (see Widowhood).

Lawao: a disease similar to *Chinyera*, which inflicts a man having coitus with his wife who has not been cleansed after abortion.

Kwisimula: a practice indulged in if a new-born child falls ill; the word refers to the " hardening " of pots when they are being made and the same idea is applied to the child. If the new-born child gets fever, the illness is ascribed to the unwonted nourishment about the vulva of the mother. These are cut off by an old medicine-woman and the blood allowed to drop into a mortar; water and some leaves are added and pounded together, and the mother seated only in a cloth reaching to the loins, washes her breasts with the liquid while the baby is supported on one thigh; the child is then given the breast and the mother, turning her back on the mortar, pushes it over backwards with her buttocks.

Ye njale (from *nali*; Chin., *dan mahare*): If a woman who, after the death of a child, has not been cleansed by medicine, adds salt to her husband's food, he eating it will sicken.

Yemaya (a Chinyanja word): If a man or a woman commits adultery and any member of the family falls ill, the natives say the illness is due to the unlawful act; the sinner is said " to have gone in front of the other "; *kwenyenda* (*enyenekwa*, Chin.), " he has gone in front of," from *kwenenda* and *kwa pamaso*, to go in front of, or *kwamphala* (Chin.), to go slyly in front of. Illness the word *kwaya* which also is used loosely for due malaria. If a child who according to custom has gone to stay with the grandmother, returns to the parents' house and the parents continue to have sexual intercourse, the child may sicken; it is said that the house is " hot " for the child and its disease may be called *kwaya*. Or if a child which has been weaned is again given the breast after the mother has resumed cohabitation with her husband, it may sicken with *kwaya*. And the husband is called *kwayanda*.

A child which is suckled after menstruation is reestablished, is not affected by any untoward symptoms.

In the event of a woman dying in childbirth, if it so happens the husband has committed adultery, he is held responsible for the death and her relatives claim very heavy compensation.

Ku-nwanilwa, to be met with (*ku-kumanilwa*, Chin.): If the act of coitus causes the onset of menstruation and the husband cannot draw back in time to prevent himself being contaminated, he will sicken, and he is said " to have met with (it) " when referring to his illness. In this disease, the penis is said to withdraw into the bladder. Sent from the end

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of the hut, *shanjishi*, and the red part of the flower of the banana, *dzitchiwa* on account of its shape, are used as medicine for this disease.

Kwinkonyana or Nikoka: If a man dies and his relatives eat of the food-stuffs left by him, such as corn from his grain-store, before they have been cleansed by medicine, they will sicken with *nikoka*, the symptoms being insomnia and vomiting. The word *kwinkonyana* is also used for sickness due to partaking of food cooked by an unfaithful wife.

Chipute is a word used by both Yao and Anyanja to denote a disease which a man contracts from adulterous intercourse. Scott[1] derives the word from *ku-puta*, to stick to; the woman is so influenced by medicine made by her husband that should any man have adulterous intercourse with her, the disease will "stick" to him, while it will not affect the woman herself nor her own husband. Both the disease and the medicine made to cause the disease are known as *Chipute*. Secondarily, the word has come to be used for any disease which may be gained by sexual intercourse and is sometimes used as a general term for venereal disease.

Chipute cha chipula (*chipula*, a knife): A man who is going away from home obtains medicine and dresses his knife with it. As he leaves his house to go on his journey, he pretends just to remember his knife and calls for it. His wife brings it to him and it is put into its sheath; he then goes out and sticks it in the grass of the roof of the house. The medicine is made from the tail of a dog, an animal in which coitus is prolonged and the two animals cannot separate. Should the wife commit adultery, it is supposed that just as the knife was undisturbed and destroyed with dog medicine, so the adulterous pair will remain fixed in coitus and be found out. This may be called *chipute cha bwinja* (*bwinja* = to set a trap).

The Anyanja make medicine with the same idea, *chipute cha kudoza* (*ku-doza*, to set a trap, Chin.); medicine is put round the house and any man crossing the medicine and committing adultery with the wife will be trapped. In all cases, the man will become ill.

Chipute cha mimi, *mimi*, *blood* (*mwazi*, Chin.): disease caused by intercourse with a menstruating woman. Blood is passed in the urine.

Chipute cha mwezi, *mwezi*, *pus* (*mafinga*, Chin.): practically venereal gonorrhoea.

Chipute cha kinyji, *kinyji*, *semen* (*umji*, Chin.): the discharge from the urethra resembles a thread of cotton; it is supposed that this thread can be pulled out endlessly.

Chipute cha mkanka, *mkanka*, *the white ants* (*chiswa*, Chin.): so called when a man passes whitish pellets details in the urine. It is supposed that when he has finished passing water, white ants rush up the penis and enter the bladder, thus causing the pain which characterizes this affection. The origin of the idea lies in the fact that if one sprinkles water or salt-water on the ground near white-ant burrows, the ants will come to the surface of the ground in numbers and make a rustling sound.

[1] D. C. Scott, *A cyclopedic dictionary of the Mang'anja language*, sv. *ch*.

Other hypothetical diseases which are feared by theirfellows to torture are mentioned under various other headings. *Kwaiyo*, a disease generally characterized by ulceration of the legs but in some cases by pains in the back, or loosely used for a variety of symptoms, is said to be caused by the entry into the body of a worm which lives in water-grass. This worm which I have had identified is a gordian worm and not known to be parasitic in man. *Lomei*: When a man kills another in battle, he will stir upon the belly of his victim; otherwise he believes he will shiver with fever and his own belly will swell up like that of the corpse when putrefaction sets in. He is supposed also to hunger after more killing and blood. *Lokenge* is the name of a supposed disease which kills off one child after another in a family when they are about six months old. Congenital syphilis naturally suggests itself but I have never been able to verify this idea. *Lokenge ipo bolele*: a supposed disease which causes the death of the first child when the second is born, the second when the third is born and so on, whatever the intervals between the births. Each child is said to push (*bo-tele*) the previous one out of this world. Under these circumstances the disease is ascribed to something wrong with the mother or father and they are examined by a medicine-woman or medicine-man, and any nervousness or an external pile found will be cut away.

If a snake bifurcate two bites, the eggs will prove fatal. If a crocodile emits a groaning sound when seizing his victim, though he escape he will certainly die.

Treatment of diseases. Of surgical treatment there is very little to be noted. Nothing in the way of operation is performed with the exception of circumcision (see *Legends*).

An abscess is allowed to burst, the smallest tumor is left untouched, but supernumerary digits which are not torn, attended only by a few prohibs, are snipped off.

The natives cannot extract teeth. They are incapable of rendering any assistance in cases of difficult labor. Dislocations are not recognized as such, but fractures are treated by the application of wooden sticks placed at intervals round the circumference of the limb parallel to it and held in position by twisted pieces of bark string (Pl. XXII, fig. 8). The principle of the tourniquet appears to be unknown.

The only instruments used consist of a small knife for incision, a cupping-horn, and a primitive form of lancet for administering enemata (Pl. XXII, figs. 1, 2, 4). The knife has a triangular blade with a stem which is commonly twisted at one of the corners. The knife is used for nail-cupping, incising, and circumcision (Pl. XXII, fig. 3). The cupping-horn is a small horn of a calf. The open is pierced and after application to the part, suction is made with the mouth and then the hole sealed by working a piece of beeswax over it with the tongue. No small incisions are made in the skin for the withdrawal of the blood. The cupping-horn is called *ekwet* (*ekwetin*, Chin.). Cupping is used for headache and for pain in the chest and back. The enema funnel, *ekpalpa* (*ekwetin*, Chin.) is made from the neck of a gourd to which is attached a hollow stem for introduction into the anus. Half a pint of an infusion of mangrove is injected for constipation associated with pain.

- Fern, *mmmm* (*Pteris mitteni*), are grown in abundance. There are two other varieties, *mmm* (*gymnobotrid*), and *shimbumbu*.

- Sweet potatoes: *mbatata* (*Ipomoea mitteni*), of which the natives are very fond; they distinguish a red and a white variety, *mbatata nyanjajire* and *mbatata nyamisawa*.

The tube-like root of a bush called *nguendu* is also eaten, likewise the young underground shoots of a palm tree. The leaves of the sweet potato and the leaves of many wild growing plants are collected by the women and cooked like spinach; the flowers of pumpkins are used in a similar way. Of fruits eaten, the bananas, *kpombo*, taken first place. A very large number of species of *Musaceae* are grown, including *mukumbukiro*, *mbingi*, *mabidi*, *mauri nanyanga*, *bebuta* a dwarf banana, *kaipau* a wild banana, and *mbongo*, the plantain. The pare-pare is found all over the district. There are several varieties of pumpkin, *kpongo*, including *mbonda*, *shimbumbidi*, and a very large species called *mtwe wa nyamau*, "the crocodile's head." Varieties of *marantaceae* include *kingoko* and *bobongondo*.

A large number of wild fruits are eaten, among them *kpa*, *bobojo* (*Ficus*), *kondo* (*Uapaca*), *chiddi* and *kongo*, the fruits of two species of *Landolphia*, *matonga* or *Kaffir oranges* (a species of *Strychnos*), *shibondo*, the fruits of *Hyphaene* (*palms*), *mukwakwa* (*Myrianthus*) a wild tree belonging to the mulberry family, and others, *mbawa*, *mukongwakwako*, *mbondomako*, *shingwingwako*, *shimbogolyo*, *mukondo*, *likwendo*, etc. The seeds from the heads of *bulrushes* (*Typha*) are roasted up and eaten.

All fish are eaten except the *nguengu*, which always causes urticaria.

The flesh of all the antelopes, of course, sheep and goats is eaten generally; only bushbuck is avoided by some people as it is said to cause a skin eruption. Elephant is devoured by many on account of its rough skin, also rhinoceros because of the ghost which is often has on its body, and hippopotamus on account of the marks on its back which are thought to be akin to leprosy. People eating the flesh of these animals are supposed often to sicken with leprosy, the *pachydermatous* skin, the ulceration or *anaesthetic* depigmented patches of that disease being reproduced, as the case may be. Few will eat pig or warthog on account of the digging habits of these animals. It is thought they may sometimes grub up bodies from graves. These flesh taboos may be due to Mohammedan influence. The lion, hyaena, and fox are never touched, as they are supposed to be connected with sorcery; but the heart of the lion might be eaten to acquire courage. Few will touch leopard flesh, but Kawanga's descendants do so. All will eat of the flesh of the serval cat but very few of the common wild cat. The rock rabbit, *ngungumtwe* (*mbira*, Chin.), is refused by most. They say it is a "beast without shame," having no tail to hide what should in decency be hid. They few will partake of the baboon, but monkey is acceptable to many. A few reject porcupine, supposing they will break out in spots, while the others may cause stripes, and some will touch the shrew. No one eats *mnyu*, a mouse that is believed to die if it crosses a path. All kinds of rats are eaten, but the shrew-rat and mouse-rat only by boys. Snakes

* The rest, p. 348.

4: Stahnke D-1 (ca. 1905)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Marovi FR4

this is then added to a brew of new beer and given to her husband to drink. He will then think of and love only herself. This is said to have caused the death of some husbands.

Mpasi: medicine made and drunk by a woman to make her beloved by a certain man.

At confinement a woman has to answer whether she has ever committed adultery; if she denies an adultery she may die, if she owns up and gives the name of the man this can be remedied. Adultery on the part of the father or mother is said to be a cause of abortion.

A man going away from his village for several months and leaving his wife behind and wishing her to remain faithful puts a knife into its sheath and hangs it in the hut, telling his brethren. It is then believed that should anyone commit adultery with his wife separation after the coitus is impossible till some third party comes and pulls the knife from its sheath, and in doing so becomes a witness of the adultery.

Eating of eggs is believed to cause impotence in children or adults. Much fat meat is said to have the same effect. It is believed that if a hare run up against the leg of a man while going through the forest he will become impotent. It is for this reason that dung of the hare is put at the door of a man to make fun of him as impotent. This is a trick played by *Akukulu*.

If a woman who has committed adultery puts salt into the food while cooking, of which her husband will partake, will thereby cause his death. At the present time among the Yao-Makonde community a woman always calls one of the children to do it—this speaks for itself. A woman, after connection with her husband, putting salt in food, may cause illness among any children partaking of the food.

If a man accuse his wife of adultery and she denies it, he will procure medicine and place it under her pillow, then in the middle of the night she will wake her husband and tell him the name of her lover.

Kyingo = ill omen. A journey would always be stopped if on setting out one of the party die; or should they meet an ant-eater or black snake. It used to be considered a sign of bad luck if one of them knocked the toes against a stone; now if blood flows from the big toe they say it presages good luck.

The Yao at the age of sixteen years climbs the *mtombo* tree, and finding a fruit which is soft makes a hole in the middle and inserts the penis. After this procedure the penis is said to enlarge as the fruit grows; when the size desired is reached the fruit is cut down.

The natives says that every one has a small animal inside the ear, the sounds it makes causes the man to hear. If the animal escapes the man becomes deaf. The animal is said to be ½-inch long, and wax is said to be its excrement.

Where a man rests on a journey he often puts a stone in the fork of the nearest tree; on many journeys there are regular halting places, often at cross roads, and here every passer-by adds a stone for luck, making quite big heaps.

4:Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FTT Tso FTT
Marvel FR4

Gaga, the residue after pounding maize, is eaten by the women. No oils are used in cooking, but of fat and suet any native is very fond. Meat may be dried and smoked if in large quantity: flesh, fish and fowl is commonly roasted on spits; small pieces of chicken may be made into a kind of stew with beans and onions as the relish. When on a journey the fire is commonly made against a tree. The cooking vessels are cleaned before use, not after. The dried fish eaten is often partly decomposed, and meat which is very high, even with maggots, is cooked and eaten, maggots and all.

Taboo.—Bushbuck is not eaten by many natives, as they say it feeds near graveyards. Fowls are not eaten by some, as this diet causes them to vomit; a snake-catcher never eats vegetables, and at the same time puts medicine on his hands. Many abstain from the flesh of certain animals as certain skin diseases are said to be caused thereby; all such diseases bear the same name.

A man who loses a relation by drowning takes an oath that he will never again eat fish, and never drink water from such lake, river, etc. Here the idea is of course simply to avoid eating part of the relation.

A Nyanja and Mashinga will not eat the flesh of the hippopotamus, because on the body they say there are the marks of a string round the loins and of a mat on his back, adding that long ago he was a man. Animals of prey would never under any circumstances be eaten. Milk used never to be drunk by an adult, as it was said to cause a man to become as a child. A man would not dare to drink women's milk as it was said he would surely die of dysentery.

Tobacco, etc.—The smoking of tobacco was a custom introduced from the coast. Chewing was general among Mashinga and Yao men and women, while the Angoni and Mananja snuffed. With the tobacco a little lime, made by burning shells, was taken in the mouth. Giddiness and sleepy sensations were experienced after chewing. The Nyasa and Awisa smoke a bubble-bubble, the water vessel being a large sausage-shaped gourd with a reed stem supporting a large bowl of calabash wood, sometimes very nicely carved (Plate XXVII, Figs. 5 and 7). The Anyanja smoke a pipe with the bowl made of clay and the stem of bamboo (Plate XXVII, Fig. 6); these are made by the women. Tobacco is grown in nearly every village, a large-leaved rather coarse variety; it is sun-dried and rolled up into hollow rings 6 inches in diameter and 3 inches broad. For snuff (*Fudia wawasa*) the sun-dried tobacco is further dried over a fire on a pan, when cold it is ground on a stone with a smaller stone by the women, and with it is mixed some ashes of the *upwe* fig-tree.

At Blantyre I obtained a water-pipe made of bamboo stem; this was the water reservoir; a stem of reed supports a little clay bowl. The mouth is placed over the upper end of the bamboo. Ilhang (*cannabis indica*) is smoked in a pipe of this kind.

AGRICULTURE.

The people live by cultivating the soil. Both sexes help in hoeing and planting, the collecting of the crops being mostly done by women. The hoe is the

ndumbi, a woman who is pregnant for the first time; *kaswahere*, a woman who has one or two children; *ajimbere*, a woman who has three or four children, and lastly, *ndubwe*, a woman who is past child-bearing age.

The information which I have been able to collect on abortifacients and contraceptives suggests that they are not used by married people merely to prevent their having more children, but that they are used by people who wish to avoid pregnancies which would be embarrassing, for example, by a woman whose husband is a labour migrant. To what extent the abortifacients and contraceptives are effacatious I cannot say; some, I know for certain, rely on a magical principle, for example, the medicated cord worn by a man during intercourse. On the other hand, the abortifacients taken orally may have some active ingredient.

A barren woman or an impotent man is regarded with some embarrassment and the marriage counties (*ulimongwe*) of a childless couple will go to considerable trouble and expense consulting diviners and leeches in an attempt to make their wards productive. Childless couples are regarded as not fully adult and are treated in a patronizing way by those who have borne children. Since a man may marry other wives, barrenness in a woman is a cause of sorrow to her husband, but is not in itself a ground for divorce. Where the man is impotent, however, the woman may divorce him on this ground, though she usually takes a paramour and forces her husband to an action for damages which automatically leads to a divorce because it is the usual practice in these cases for the court to ask the woman if she wants to be divorced from her husband.

In contrast to the satisfaction shown at the birth of a child is the sense of evil evinced when a child is still-born or the woman miscarries. The Yao do not distinguish between still-births and abortions, both events being known by the word *kwasanga*. This is a verb and refers to the process of abortion; there is no term for the dead foetus itself. I made no attempt to enumerate miscarriages and still-births because they are supposed to be due to breaches of sexual taboos on the part of the husband and wife, and interviewees were naturally reluctant to mention them. Miscarriages and still-births are greatly feared, and the woman is considered to be in a very dangerous condition until she and her husband have carried out a ritual purification. Should a man have intercourse with a woman who has miscarried and not yet been purified he will contract a disease called *kwasa* which is believed to be invariably fatal. Still-born children or aborted foetuses are buried in a hole dug with sharpened sticks in the bush by the women, whereas children who are born alive and die afterwards are buried in the graveyard in graves dug by men with hoes. The burial spots of still-born babies or aborted foetuses are marked with a stone or broken pottery, since it is believed that to step on them will induce an illness.

The concern of the interested kin-groups is shown in the child-birth procedure. Birth normally takes place in a hut in the presence of the older female relatives of the woman and the female representatives of the man. The husband's representatives are necessary because the Yao, like many other Central African peoples, believe that an adulterine child will not be born to the woman unless she confesses (*kupasa*) the name of the genitor. If she persists in concealing the identity of the genitor, they

[1] *ndumbi* = elephant, hence ivory. The terms *ndembe* and *ndumbi* here both refer to the ivory bands traditionally worn by the women in the pregnancy initiation ceremony.

they said, "we shall be able to take away their shadows and they would die." In their mind the *kimbo* was allied to the shadow or picture, and the removal of it to the photographic plate would cause the disease or death of the shadowless body.

As an instance of their faith in the close relationship of the *kimbo* and the picture or shadow, I may relate the following incident. An influential Yao chief on Mount Zomba with whom I was on terms of intimate friendship for years, refused to allow himself to be photographed, fearing the consequence on his life. At last I was able to persuade him to give me a sitting, but on the sole condition that the picture was to be shown to none of his subjects but to be sent out of the country as soon as possible. He feared lest some ill-wisher might use it as a means towards his bewitchment. Some months afterwards the chief became seriously ill, and in the minds of his attendants his illness was attributed to some accident having befallen the photographic plate on which they believed the picture of their chief to be imprinted. If that negative had been broken in England, whither it had been sent, their chief's illness would be accounted for. Accordingly they appealed to the divining oracle, who, however, after consulting the "bits," assured them that the picture was intact, and that its conveyance the disease must be ascribed to some other cause.

The *kimbo* or soul is recognised as the *chief* agency in disease. To disease in, in the Yao tongue, *kwangwisha* *mimbo*, where *mimbo* is the plural form of *kimbo*. The *kimbo* is supposed to go out and visit the graves and persons in disease about, and in turn is visited by the *mimbo* of others, dead or living. Pains in the body on rising from sleep in the morning are usually ascribed to such nocturnal visits, while diseases or pains of a severer type are ascribed to instigations by the whips of the *mimbo* or more frequently of the witches who prowl around during the night watches.

Madness, idiocy and the ravings of delirium or disease are accounted for by a similar agency. The sufferers are *wa mimbo*, they of the spirits, and a sudden fit of epilepsy or insanity is described as *gukwasiwa mimbo*, the spirits have seized him. Such persons are usually regarded with awe, as living in close contact with the unseen, but no incantations or enchantments are ever used to expel the spirit in possession. Some native doctors are credited with a knowledge of certain medicines which they say are effectual in such cases, but their application in no way differs from those employed in treating ordinary types of disease. Idiots and the insane are allowed to wander at will about the village, and only when violent symptoms show themselves as a danger to the community is any physical restraint put upon them.

The *mimbo* are also recognised as the inspiring agencies in the ravings of the witch detective. This person, usually a woman, is called in to discover who is the guilty agent in cases of mysterious deaths or outbreak of an epidemic at a village. She arrives on the scene and takes up her abode for a few days previous to her actual demonstration. She mixes with the people, learns all the scandal and gossip of the community, and at night prowls about the houses searching for

are composed of the descendants of slave-wives of village headmen in days past. Like the village headmen the chief was considered to be in danger from sorcery with death. He could not attend the funeral of commoners, he could not eat the chicken which was brought to him at the announcement of the death of a commoner (for a village headman) or subject (of a chief). Should he do so he would suffer from a disease called ndoko. Also village headmen, like the chief were supposed to be well versed in medicine and were regarded with more awe on this account. The chief and the village headmen were distinguished from the commoners in these ways.

But, the chief himself was a village headman. He had to administer the affairs of his family group and shew as had other village headmen. He was involved in the struggle for power going on around him because he was not blind above these secular struggles as was, for example, the Bafo King.[1] Duff MacDonald records for example: "In a dispute between the inhabitants of different villages, the respective headmen represent their own subjects, and the chief is appealed to. All his decisions are final. Still the chief may otherwise have less influence than a powerful headman, and we have known cases where he simply consented himself with grumbling when his headmen acted contrary to his desire; and in many criminal trials he is eclipsed by the sorcerers and pounders of poison."[2] Again MacDonald records how the chief tried to entice subjects away from a village headman at a trial by pointing out that the village headman had a poor character and was unsuitable to look after people.[3] While there seems to have been some evidence that a number of village headmen under a chief acted jointly in the face of a common danger, but apparently with no powerful military organization. Village headmen seem to have been almost entirely autocratous in their actions, slave-raiding on their own, even raiding villages who paid tribute to the same chief as they did.